

Margaret Beissinger
Princeton University
Princeton, USA
mhbeissi@princeton.edu

"Born-Again Romani Musicians: Evangelical Faith and Shifting Identities among Roma in Post-Communist Romania"

In this paper, I consider the trend among a growing number of Romani musicians in Romania to adopt Evangelical Christianity, a transformation that has radically altered their lifestyle. As Romani musicians have progressively embraced their new religious faith—Pentecostalism, they have likewise rejected their older secular profession—music-making. For many, the powerful identity provided by Evangelical Christianity has thus succeeded in superseding an equally powerful identity that has long been provided by occupation—performing music. Based on recent fieldwork in Bucharest and surrounding towns and villages, I examine Evangelical conversions among Romani musicians, exploring what forces have caused them to renounce music-making, how they are reshuffling their priorities and adapting to their reborn lives, and how Evangelical Christianity informs their ongoing struggle in contemporary society to sustain their own sense of self and maintain the needs of their families. My findings shed light on how identity among Romani musicians has shifted significantly over the past 20 years as well as how transnational religious movements are keenly shaping and transforming Romani minority communities in contemporary society.

Constantin Cojocariu
London, UK
constantincojocariu@yahoo.com

Does the Romani Kriss Have a Future?: Thoughts on Themes for Future Research

The Romani Court (“Romani Kriss”, “the Kriss”) is a customary, informal institution charged with mediating and solving certain disputes among members of some Romani communities in Romania. Currently in decline, the Kriss is unevenly spread and tends to hold sway in more traditional, isolated communities. More recently Romani judges (“krisinitori”) have attempted to organise themselves at the national level in order to gain some official recognition. However, this has not been forthcoming so far, although at times local officials

recognised that it may in certain circumstances, represent a more efficient conflict resolution tool among Romani communities.

The research on the Kriss before and after 1989 has been limited. This paper will review the existing research on the topic and identify its (considerable) gaps. Furthermore, given the breadth of the topic, some areas for future research will be outlined.

Thus, the author will describe the Kriss and proceedings before it and at the same time identify analogies with kin institutions that existed historically among other ethnic communities in Romania. The attitude of the Romanian national state towards those institutions will then be examined against the background of the institutional building of the national state.

It is argued that the Kriss may play a double function: a) to solve certain disputes within Romani communities more efficiently/expediently than majority institutions; b) to the extent in which the Kriss is a fundamental element thereof, to contribute to the crystallisation of an emerging Romani cultural identity. It follows that the State has both a duty and an interest in protecting/promoting this institution.

In that context the paper will look at ways in which the Kriss may be accommodated against the background of existing domestic legislation on minority issues and respectively dispute resolution. Finally, the paper will examine the extent in which an obligation to protect and promote this institution may be discerned in treaties on minority issues to which Romania is a party to.

Samuel Delepine
University of Angers
Angers, France
samuel.delepine@univ-angers.fr

The situation of the Roma in Romanian towns A territorial approach

From our point of view, the situation of the Roma people in Romanian towns, and in the Central Europe villages in general, is a territorial matter. This issue is part of the broader subject of the situation of the Roma in Europe, which is rather sensitive.

In their great majority, the Roma live in marginalized outskirts and difficult social conditions. These areas have little in common with the other areas of the city and, as a result, their residents have little social connections with the majority population. When this kind of physical and social links does exist, the daily life of these residents is completely different. Spatial insertion supposes social insertion.

There is a lot of explanation given, as to this social and geographical exclusion situation: rejection, self marginalization, way of living, discrimination, etc. Our position chooses to rather question the perception of the positioning according to the Roma within the city, with all the resulting issues in terms of image and difficulties to absorb the socio-spatial breach, which we will further illustrate with examples from various Romanian cities.

Durst Judit
UCL
London, UK
judit_durst@yahoo.co.uk

Ethnicity and reproduction in Hungary

This paper addresses the question of ‘what is behind the differential fertility behaviours of the ethnic/minority groups?’ (Forste-Tienda, 2002, Bean-Marcum, 1978, Goldscheider-Uhlenberg, 1969, Weinreb, 2001, Johnson-Hanks, 2003, etc.). In this effort it focuses on three interrelated issues. First, it demonstrates the difficulties of the categorization of the different minority “group” members in the particular demographic data collections (eg.census, household surveys) and the consequences of this “struggle for classification” (Bourdieu, 1989, Ladanyi-Szelenyi, 2004) for the demographic findings of the researches using the constructed ethnic categories. Then it reviews briefly the different explanations for the “ethnic fertility differentials”, among others the “minority status hypothesis” (Goldscheider and Uhlenberg, 1969). Last but not least it tries to demonstrate the use of “anthropological demography” in better understanding the reproductive strategies of the Roma in Hungary, drawing upon on the author’s ethnographic fieldworks carried out in different Gypsy communities. One of this paper’s main theses is that by doing micro demographic studies one doesn’t find “ethnic fertility differentials” in all cases. The paper also argues that ethnicity, at least in the case of the Roma in Europe, cannot be taken as simple as a “culture alike variable” (Andorka, 1987), or as a set of “cultural practises” (see Johnson-Hanks, 2003, Pollak-Watkins, 1993); indeed, it’s much worth to see it as a “relational variable” (Eriksen, 2002) which is deeply embedded in the particular social context surrounding the observed ethnic “groups”.

Krauss Joachim
Technische Universitat Berlin Zentrum fur
Antisemitismusforschung
Berlin, Germany
joachim.krauss@jo-krauss.de

Social change in Roma communities in northeastern Transylvania/Romania during the period between socialist to post-socialist Romanian society

Basis of this presentation are three case studies from the Transylvanian area of Romania that form the empirical part of my dissertation. Within these case studies, the structural, demographical as well as social changes during the period from 1944/45 to 1995 are analysed. The definition of this time-frame is based on the consideration that enforced societal change brings about specific actions and survival strategies as well as notably emerging processes of social marginalization. The assertion and the end of Communism mark two structural changes on the society on a macro scale within one generation. The three former Transylvanian Saxon communities are well suited to reveal the conditions for integration as well as assimilation. After 1945, all three communities went through fundamental social changes in populous. The Transylvanian Saxon majority was replaced by a Romanian while the Roma communities remained locals. The latter had lived in close connection to the socially, economically and culturally dominant Transylvanian Saxons; this was also reflected in their religious affiliation with the Protestant church. After 1945, the enforced assimilation process on the Roma to integrate within the Romanian population did not succeed. The reasons for this are the focus of my presentation.

János Ladányi
Corvinus University of Budapest
Institute of Sociology and Social Policy
Budapest, Hungary
janos.ladanyi@uni-corvinus.hu

Urban and Rural Ethnic Ghettos in Budapest and Hungary

Residential segregation increased in Budapest during the market transition period. A considerable number of high social status families moved to suburbs. The condition of the slum belt that surrounded the inner city deteriorated rapidly. Roma people in long-term unemployment and exclusion moved into that slum in large

numbers until about the beginning of this decade. Consequently, Budapest became divided into two parts. Neighbourhoods where the beneficiaries of transition lived became similar to middle-class quarters of cities in Western Europe, while those inhabited by the losers of the post-Communist transition became similar to slums in the Third World.

Nowadays the pattern of ethnic ghettoization in Budapest is in rapid change. The ethnic ghetto of the inner Pest side is being fragmented and replaced by a higher number of scattered but more homogeneous ethnic ghettos. Many Roma and non-Roma people in long-term poverty are pushed out from Budapest. As a result parts of or entire villages are ghettoized in increasing numbers, in fact, region-sized areas of the country have become ghettoized. The spatial segregation of the poorest and most excluded parts of the population cannot be analyzed in the context of conventional geographical inequalities within Budapest or conventional differences between urban and rural areas any more. These structural advantages and disadvantages can only be discussed in the context of Hungary's entire settlement system.

Tobias Marx
Institute of Ethnology
Leipzig, Germany
tmarx@uni-leipzig.de

Roma-Elite and the Problem of Re-Presentation First Outcomes of a PhD-project

Not just with the entrance of Romania and Bulgaria in the EU, Roma will be a significant group in this region. In order to strengthen the intention of integrating them and to give them a chance for having a 'voice' in the EU and parliaments, programs are forming and educating a 'new' group of Roma-elite: young well educated Roma/Gypsy-students. These individuals should be 'key-bearer' of the coming communication with their represented group(s). My contribution here is about the question of this uprising Roma-Elite in the four countries Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Macedonia and some of its backgrounds. Not just since the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 *gaje*-institutions – at least those which want to work with Roma-groups or want to fulfil an expectation of a possible Romaintegration into the mainstream society – are looking for at least one distinctive *leader* or *representer* of "the" Roma-group for getting in contact with them and to negotiate in different terms and reasons. Since the *OSI* is financing a more dedicated program of *building a Romaleadership* or *Roma-Re-representer-ship* the expectation in case of a possible integration or at least inclusion via these new elite was growing enormously.

But the outcomes stood behind these great expectations. Why?

History shows that in previous times, when Roma-/Gypsy-Groups entered Europe they brought along with them "their" "big men", "Kings" or persons called "counts" or "earls" or the like. Like today in few regions it appears that Roma-/Gypsy-Groups have their "own" old Group-leaders (Gheorghe, Marushiakova) beside the new ones. Where is the "old" Roma-Elite? Does it exist today as well? And if yes, why didn't they do the job?

These and other questions inspired me to try to look a bit more carefully on these "new" and "old" *actors and there fields of actions*. I sum up under the topic *Roma-Elite* leaders in every kind (*Rom Baro, Sherudno, Voj(vo)da, Advocates, Representatives, Party holders, NGO-holders, Businessmen, "Gypsy-King[s]"* etc.).

So in my dissertation project I want to show, how "old" and "new" leaders of several Romagroups or *mahalas* act and interact within their communities and to the outside world of the *gaje*.

My intension is to create a typology (presenters – representatives – trans-re-presenters) of Roma-leaders ('new' and 'old'). This will give us a possibly better view on to the question of "Who is the 'new' Roma-Elite and how are they socialised in their community and in the *gaje*-society?"

An 'overview' or typology of Roma-representatives possibly guide us to a deeper understanding of consequences of an outstanding Inclusion of Roma and surely it will give us new facts for reaching the groups of Roma-communities.

The collected narratives (autobiographical data, data about socialization, education, and opinions about their position in the "outside-world" and in the "inside-world" of [their] Roma-communities or families) show a very strict evidence for some first conclusions, which will be presented.

Petre Matei
University of Bucharest, History Department
Bucharest, Romania
matei.petre.ro@gmail.com

The Gypsy Images in Interwar Romania Explanations for Deportations ?

During World War II, the Romanian authorities deported about 25.000 Gypsies in Transnistria where many of them died. Our intention is to present the reasons behind these discriminatory measures. Why were these people deported? Were the Gypsies in interwar Romania among the minorities accused of plotting against the Romanian state? As a national danger regarded? If affirmative by whom? By the entire population or only by certain elites?

How influential were these elites and since when did they begin to be interested in this minority, how did they justify these (rejecting) attitudes and how did they try to spread these attitudes further into the society and with what success if any?

As it is wrong to reduce the very different attitudes towards the Gypsies to only a (reified) perception: the Romanians about Gypsies, the attitudes which were selected (those of the peasants, police, eugenics, etc) are important for explaining the deportations.

The different Gypsy images are explained by the fact that the Gypsies were not regarded by the Romanian elites as a national danger. The Romanian nationalism didn't have an anti-Gypsy program. In interwar Romania there was not an anti-Gypsy [psychosis](#) as it is the case today. Nevertheless the attitudes towards the Gypsies changed in the 1930/40s compared with the 1920's.

Cristina Mocanu
National Research Institute for Labour and Social
Protection
Bucuresti, Romania
mocanu@incsmips.ro

Carmen Gheorghe
Impreuna Agency for Community Development
Bucuresti, Romania
carmen.gheorghe@agentiaimpreuna.ro

Ana Maria Zamfir
National Research Institute for Labour and Social
Protection
Bucuresti, Romania
anazamfir@incsmips.ro

Roma Women Employees and Trade Unions Mirroring Each Other

The presentation will have two parts: the first one aims at sketching quantitatively and qualitatively the situation of Roma women on the labor market as well as their working conditions as against both Roma men and Romanian Women; and a second part which put in the mirror the images that Roma Women Employees and Trade Unions have about each other. We use these divergent perceptions in order to develop possible mechanisms for a better understanding and representation of Roma women employees through collective bargaining mechanisms.

Florin Moisa
The Resource Center for Roma Communities
Cluj, Romania
florin.moisa@romacenter.ro

The Challenge of Social Inclusion of Roma. Poverty or Discrimination Approach?

The condition of Roma¹ in Romania was, at least theoretically, on the government agenda for about ten years, when the European Union accession process started. The Governmental Strategy for Improvement of the Condition of Roma², the main official policy document is a result of the special conditions facilitated by the EU access process, when there was enough political will and financial incentives³ to adopt measures for Roma population.

Governmental structures and Roma movement have different views on the improvement of the condition of Roma, reflected in the policy approach and the practical solution they promote. While the Government has a rather global view and focus on poverty issues, the Roma movement is talking about diversity of the Roma and discrimination.

We will present in our paper arguments for a new approach, based on the social inclusion of vulnerable groups promoted at EU level and present, again at least theoretically, in the Romanian official documents.

Our view is that the present condition of the Roma is a result of:

- historical discrimination and social exclusion;
- traditional lifestyle and value system of the Roma communities;
- perpetuation by a vicious poverty cycle;
- incapacity of the Romania society to have sustainable development in the last 18 years.

We will argue that:

- the large diversity of Roma communities and groups requires a tailored public policy approach;
- the social inclusion approach and well designed public policies (*according to the public policy cycle*) have a better chance to bring about the positive change in the life of Roma communities in Romania;

¹ Officially 0.5 million Roma living in Romania, up to 1.5 million Roma sociological estimation

² Government Decision no. 430/2001, for adoption of the Governmental Strategy for Improvement of the Condition of Roma. It was modified by Government Decision no. 522/2006, getting closer to the principles promoted by the Decade of Roma inclusion.

³ Financial Memorandums between European Commission and Romanian Government (1998-2006) add-up 68.3 million Euro, out of which 52.5 million Euro EU contribution and 15.8 million Euro Romanian Government contribution

- the participation of the Roma as partner of the Government in designing the policies is a requirement.

Dr. Dan OPRESCU ZENDA
National Agency on Roma
Romania
e-mail: dan.oprescu@anr.gov.ro

Conceptual Paradigm of Public Policies on Roma (The Case of Roma Strategy in Romania)

For about twenty years, all across Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) there have been several attempts to design and implement public policies on Roma; most of these “strategies” and “programs” are to be considered only as sums of various projects, without a real preoccupation for a conceptual framework which a “strategy on Roma” will eventually function within. To such a situation, proving an obvious precariousness of concepts, contributed decisively the pressures, coming from donors and international bodies, to take action in order to significantly improve the state of Roma in a reasonably short period of time. Most governments, international donors, even the European Commission, pressed the people who were in charge with designing “Roma strategies” to do a quick job, with the understanding that later on, eventually, the “strategies” will be changed according to reality. In short, the emphasis was regularly put on speed, and much less on the very consistency of the public policy. The normal pattern of thought (starting from a doctrine, passing through the elaboration of a strategy and its master-plan of measures and ending with programs and projects) was sacrificed in favor of an eclectic collection of many projects having some Roma individuals or, in the best cases, groups, as final beneficiaries.

There are just a few main ideas to be considered “doctrines” on such a complex and delicate issue as public policies on Roma, mainly (1) the social inclusion theory (SIT), and (2) the racial discrimination theory (RDT). Of course, it is possible to imagine quite a few other theories (e.g.: the theory of racial superiority/ inferiority, like the Nazis’), and lots of them are really eclectic, with different ratios of social inclusion and (anti-)racial discrimination. For the sake of simplicity, I will consider only the two above-mentioned “doctrines”.

Alexey Pamporov
OSI-Sofia, Bulgaria
Institute of Sociology
at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
apamporov@osi.bg

Measuring Stereotypes Towards Roma in Bulgaria – methodology and outcome from a national representative survey 2008

There are at least six different methods of stereotype measuring: the Katz & Braly checklist, the Percentage approach, the Diagnostic ratio method, the Prototype method, the Pathfinder method and an open question approach. Although some of them are in use in sociology even before the WWII, they were introduced in the field of ethnicity studies in Bulgaria only in the beginning of the last decade of twentieth century. In fact, despite the increasing international critics towards the Katz and Braly approach, the checklist technique is very well known and is the only method in use in Bulgaria as far as the stereotypes are under concern. The first survey using the Katz & Braly in Bulgaria (Tomova 19992) was focused on four minority groups Turks, Armenians, Jews and Roma. The outcome shows Roma as larcenous (89%), dirty (87%), ignoramus (87%), happy-go-lucky (83%) and bad-mannered (80%).

Taking into account the new theoretical developments in the field of sociology and with regard of the rapid social changes in the past two decades, in June 2008 the Open Society Institute – Sofia conducted a survey focused on 24 ethnical groups, living in Bulgaria. The present paper addresses both methodology and empirical outcome. We are going to present the open question method, enriched by some elements of the diagnostic ratio and the pathfinder methods.

Magyari Vincze Enikő
Desire Foundation
Cluj, Romania
eni_personal@yahoo.com

Gendering Romani Studies

The central role of gender in organizing society is recognized not only by the feminist literature on the functioning of material and symbolic power, but also by Roma studies concerned with the construction and maintenance of identity boundaries within Romani communities and/or between the latter and the outside world. Our panel takes up these issues and proposes

discussing them both in analytical and activist terms. Up to this it is also looking for possible ways of connecting the academic and activist work on Roma women's and men's rights and entitlements, as far as the panel participants are themselves practicing both. The panel is planned to be closed by the launch of the first issue of the new international publication "Nevi Sara Kali. Roma Women's Journal. Revista Femeilor Rome. Romane 3uvleange 3urnalo", edited by the Roma Women's Association For Our Children and Foundation Desire from Romania.

Peti Lehel
ISPMN
Cluj, Romania
petilehel@yahoo.com

Adaptation and Segregation. The Communication of the Cultural Differences in a Hungarian-Gypsy Coexistence in a Transylvanian village

The paper analyzes symbolical attitudes, gestures of separation, mental structures of the Hungarians over against Gypsies in a Hungarian village from Transylvania (Romania). It outlines the economical strategies of Gypsies and the judgments of the major community which point out the place of this strategies in the local symbolical worldlife. The author presents some communal practices where the most important aspects of mental and symbolic systems between two ethnic groups manifest and reproduce. The conclusion of the author is that there are no real modifications of how the Hungarians think about the Gypsies in spite of the efforts made by these to strategically and culturally accommodate to the Hungarian community. The structural difference between the two societies still exists despite mixed marriages, unbiological affinities, and the Hungarian-like lifestyle and economical recruitment of the Gypsies, which has occurred after the Romanian system change because the Gypsies were more mobile and they followed non-agrarian economical strategies, while the Hungarians being more connected to these strategies. They have become impoverished, because the negative tendencies of the Romanian agriculture. The devaluation of the Gypsies by the Hungarians is addressed to the Gypsy community, in everyday life relationships are not expressed categorically, but they are symbolically present.

Plainer Zsuzsa
ISPMN
Cluj, Romania
pzsuzsa_2000@yahoo.com

Is The Second Chance Really a Second Chance? – educational policies for Roma in Romania

Since the early 2000ies Roma education is a permanent element of the Romanian political agenda, as Roma inhabitant's level of schooling has been found lower compared to other Romanian citizens'. In order to understand such a phenomenon, my paper tries to analyze the most important educational policies from Romania regarding Roma ethnics: separate places in high schools and university faculties, condition and role of school mediators, a state-designed joining up program called "The Second Chance". In presenting and evaluating such programs a special attention is given to the institutional context that shapes educational systems in Romania. Subsequently politics of recruitment, politics of reward and recognition, institutional autonomy, teaching methodologies are, too, discussed as factors seriously influencing all educational policies, implicitly those for Roma; by including systemic question into my work, I state that minority education is not an independent matter of discussion. Empirical grounds for my argumentations have been provided by a long-term fieldwork carried on in Cluj-Napoca and elsewhere in Cluj County.

Gergő Pulay
Central European University
Budapest, Hungary
pulaygergo@gmail.com

The Mahala-complex. Urban space, popular culture and everyday life in a Bucharest neighborhood

This paper is based on experiences about parallel processes in popular culture and the urban space of Bucharest: the territorial stigmatization of marginalized 'no-go' areas in town; and the moral panic of many Romanians towards the Oriental pop music genre *manele*. Both this form of popular culture and these urban zones are seen as terrains of Roma dominance, closely connected with deviance and criminality. As everyday forms of Romanian anti-Gypsism suggest, the low qualities associated with ethnicity are localized in space but at the same time the forces of the 'low' are also considered to threaten the 'mainstream' with invasion. Ethnicity is part of a larger set of distinctions here; as it can be interchanged with other forms of social closure.

The field for the study is Ferentari, a stigmatized poor and marginal neighborhood of Bucharest. While inter-ethnic co-habitation, transgression and exchange with the Roma are represented in the dominant discourse as dishonest acts against the 'national self', here they are parts of everyday life. Manele as a form of popular music – and also as a particular cosmology – dominates the expressive culture of most inhabitants. In this paper my goal is to understand this complex in which the *Gypsy* exists as a *floating signifier*, provoking ongoing attempts to locate it hence reinforcing the spatial and cultural separation which seemingly had never been fully achieved. The localization of the low implies practices and discourses both on popular culture and urban space as those governmental and non-governmental projects suggest in which the elimination of *manele* as low culture, and the ongoing re-structuration of urban space are pursued.

Cristina Raț
Sociology Department
„Babeș-Bolyai” University Cluj-Napoca
e-mail: crat@socasis.ubbcluj.ro

Unfavourable Inclusion: Welfare Transfers and the Roma in Romania

The persistence of social and economic deprivation ought to be analysed in relation to the ways in which social policies tackle, uphold or reinforce the “unfavourable inclusion” (Sen, 2000) or “disempowering inclusion” (Anthias, 2001) of the poor. This paper argues that, in the case of Romanian Roma, the inefficiency of state social protection allowed the deepening of social cleavages.

The critical discussion of the welfare legislation is accompanied by statistical analyses performed upon the ECHISERV 2007 dataset*, which comprises empirical data on three representative samples of Romanians, Hungarians and Roma from the North-West Region of Romania. The binary logistic regression on the probability of receiving the Minimum Income Guarantee (MIG) benefit indicated that the Roma were three times more likely than the non-Roma to receive MIG, after controlling for education, joblessness, income, household size and residence.

The recurrent public discourse on the “deserving” and “undeserving” beneficiaries of social protection often draws the division along “ethnic” lines: “the Gypsies” are seen as abusers of welfare, and expectations for state action for “the truly disadvantaged” (Wilson, 1997) Roma contain an inherent dimension of exercising social control upon “the Gypsies”. Given the strong negative prejudices, the blame for the perpetuation of poverty and alleged “welfare

dependency” often falls on the poor themselves, without disclosing the inadequacy of state support.

- The ECHISERV dataset was collected within the framework of the research project CEEEX 157/2006, “Disparities in the Use of Health Care Services in the North West Development Region. Socio-economic Patterns and Causes”, project director: prof. dr. Livia Popescu, “Babeș-Bolyai” University Cluj. Details about the project and its results are available on the web-page of the project: www.socialzoom.com/echiserv.

Prof.dr. Maria Roth
drd. Mihai-Bogdan Iovu
Faculty of Sociology and Social Work
„Babeș-Bolyai” University Cluj-Napoca
roth.mari@ymail.com
iovu_mbogdan@yahoo.com

Participation of Roma children in education: the results of the study *The social diagnostic of school performance using the school performance scale and the design of intervention methods validated through research**

During the last years, Romania legislated and implemented several measures aiming at enhancing the access to education of Roma children, including modular programs such as „The Second Chance” program. However, situations of school abandonment, discrimination and segregation in schools still persist. The present study tries to identify the most salient social factors influencing school success of children belonging to the Roma ethnic minority, in the quest to ensure equal access to education for all children, as stated in the UN Convention on the rights of children. The results of the study indicate that, despite common preconceptions, Roma children show high levels of school engagement and satisfaction. Evidence-based social interventions should take into account these factors in order to design and implement efficient measures of school integration.

Keywords: minorities, children, education

* The study has been carried out with the financial support of the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation within the framework of the program PN-CDI II, Grant No. 91-063/2007.

Cosima Rughiniş
University of Bucharest
Bucharest, Romania
Cosima.rughinis@gmail.com

Virtual Roma Neighbors. Social Distance between Non-Roma and Roma people in Romania and Other European Countries

The paper discusses indicators of social distance towards the Roma, in particular acceptance of Roma people as neighbors and as family members. The analysis relies on several surveys including national Romanian samples, such as the European value Survey 1999, the Ethnobarometers from 2001 and 2002, the Roma Inclusion Barometer 2006, Inclusion 2007, and Work Attitudes 2008. Regression models indicate that voluntary interaction with Roma people decreases social distance towards them, while involuntary contacts may also have a small effect of decreasing social distance. Still, interaction and contact do not influence perceived threat, which is a powerful predictor of social distance. Local context variables, such as the proportion of Roma at neighborhood level, are poorly measured in surveys and do not yield conclusive results when included in regression models. As regarding national context, a multilevel analysis on the EVS 1999 indicates that, as expected, social distance towards Roma is higher in CEE countries and also in countries with a significant Roma minority.

Szabó Á. Töhötöm
Babes-Bolyai University
Cluj, Romania
szabo_tohotom@yahoo.com

From natural to social environment: ethnicity and economic strategies in a Transylvanian village

The relations in general and peculiarly the economic relations between gipsy and non-gipsy groups constitute a major topic of ethnology and anthropology: the starting point of these researches is the assumption of two different economic spheres with economic strategies of gypsies on the one hand and different economic strategies of the non-gypsies on the other hand, that are, however, complementary. Following this starting point, in my paper I will analyze the economic strategies of these two groups (Gypsies and Hungarians) in a Transylvanian village in the context of ethnicity and social position arguing that one can understand these strategies analyzing the

environmental (both natural and social) resources and also the processes of the last years. As a result of these processes – demographic changes, changed relation to the natural environment, the decline of agrarian activities, shifting positions in formal and informal work – some major changes occurred in economic strategies, consequently the border between the former different spheres started to fade and meantime to shift. I argue that in the case of this community the new economic spheres are organized in central and peripheral economic activities and strategies that no longer can be seen ethnically limited. Thus, nowadays one can talk more about strategies related to the social position than about strategies related to ethnicity – despite the fact that in the local discourses these ethnic spheres are maintained.

Cătălina Tesar
University College London
London, UK
catalinatesar@yahoo.com

Making Gypsies with Gadge money. Begging as a culturally loaded economic practice

Begging in migration contexts is a practice that provides Cortorari with the cash supply necessary on the internal marriage market, an institution central to the reproduction of their Gypsiness. Cortorari conceive of begging as a kind of labor that requires specific aged-gender differentiated skills (verbal and body communication) and knowledge (mental mapping of the territory doubled by intuition of its economic potential). It is undertaken for a short period of time under a daily schedule that overlaps with the receiving country population work timetable. Money earned by begging on a daily basis, the spare change, glossed as *lei* or *xurde* by Cortorari has a short-lived existence and is converted in paper currency, *euro* at the end of a “working day”. The paper money saved and voided of any sphere of circulation abroad is brought home where it becomes countable *love* (money) and enters a culturally specific exchange sphere.

My presentation will use ethnography of begging in Italy together with data collected in home country among the Cortorari to inquire into the meanings attached to money and to begging by this Gypsy population. I will argue that rather than being a merely economic practice marked by a high degree of professionalization with a well-established hierarchical structure (eg people being employed as *manglitori* –beggars), begging also indexes the positioning of Gypsies vis a vis Gadge. Whilst the practice of begging is underwritten by a one-way exchange, with no reciprocation expected (Piasere), the

money it provides ensures the perpetuation of reciprocity that characterizes the internal exchange system.

Evelyne Urech
Sil International, Kandem, Germany
ISPMN, Cluj, Romania
evelyne_urech@sil.org

Survey of Romani dialects in Transylvania

The presentation will summarise the results of a linguistic survey which was undertaken between summer 2007 and spring 2009 in Transylvania.⁴ Word lists (32 words / short propositions) containing the key diagnostic features of dialect variation in the region have been elicited from over 130 different speakers all over Transylvania. Additionally an extended word list (over 1000 entries) which has been developed by the Romani Project hosted at Manchester University was collected from 20 speakers.

According to several sources (e.g. BORETZKY & IGLA 2004a,b; MATRAS 2005) two of the four major dialect groups meet in the area under consideration: Central dialects in the North and Northwest, and Vlax dialects all over the rest of the area. Our survey sheds more light on what happens linguistically in this transition zone. In the presentation special attention will be given to the question as to whether language varieties spoken in or near the border area can be classified as clearly belonging to one of the two major groups, or if they rather combine elements from the two major dialect groups. It will be argued that varieties can basically be considered being either more Vlax-like or more Central-like on the basis of several features. The geographical distribution of these two groups and some of the variation that exists between but also within them will be shown. Furthermore some tentative suggestions as to the causes of the currently observable pattern will be made.

References:

- BORETZKY, NORBERT AND BIRGIT IGLA (2004a). *Kommentierter Dialektatlas des Romani. Teil 1. Vergleich der Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- BORETZKY, NORBERT AND BIRGIT IGLA (2004b). *Kommentierter Dialektatlas des Romani. Teil 2. Dialektkarten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- MATRAS, YARON (2005). 'The classification of Romani dialects: A geographical-historical perspective'. In: Halwachs, D. & Schrammel, Barbara, Ambrosch, Gerd (eds.). *General and applied Romani linguistics*. München: Lincom Europa. 7-26.

⁴ The survey has been carried out by a team of five persons who are all members of SIL.